

A L E T T E R,

Containing some Reflections, on a Discourse, called *Good Advice to the Church of England*, &c. and upon three Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London, about the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests.

S^r R.

I Have at last procured a sight of the Book stiled *Good Advice to the Church of England*, *Roman Catholick and Protestant Dissenter*; and of the three Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London; which as they are written by one and the same person, so he endeavours in all of them to make it appear to be the Duty, Principle, and Interest of the Parties mentioned, to abolish the Penal Laws and Tests. Now tho' I'm daily in expectation of seeing such an Answer returned to those Papers, as will both give the Author cause to wish he had been otherway's employ'd when he wrote them, and make the Court ashamed of the Elogies they have heaped upon him for his service; yet it may not be amiss in the mean time, to shew in a very few pages, that 'tis not any considerable strength in those Discourses, which hath given them a Reputation, but the Interest of some to have every thing accounted unanswerable that is published in favour of their Designs, and the folly and weakness of others, which makes them believe that to be nervous, in whose success they imagine their ease to be wrapt up and involved.

I think it is universally acknowledged, and I'm sure it can be demonstratively proved, that they are written by a Quaker; and this ought to render us jealous both of the motives influencing unto it, and of the end to which they are designed to be subservient. For first, the affinity of several of the Religious Principles of that Party, with some of the material Doctrines of the *Romish Church*, may notwithstanding the Charity which we retain towards the bulk of them, make us justly apprehensive, that one or more of their Leaders are intirely in the Interest of the *Church of Rome*. For as the Popish Emissaries know how to put themselves into all shapes, for the increasing and heightning divisions among Protestants, and for the exposing as well as supplanting of our Religion; so the design promoted in the foresaid Papers, of destroying all the Legal Fences against Popery, and of letting the Papists into the Legislative and whole Executive Power of the Government, gives the world too much ground to suspect out of whose mint and forge writings of this stamp and mettle

do proceed. Seriously, it should not a little contribute to augment our jealousy, that they who without being false to their Religious Tenets, can not join to assist Protestants, in case the Papists should attempt to cut our Throats, or endeavour to impose their Religion upon the Nation by Military force; should of all men study to overthrow that Security which we have by the Test Laws, whose whole tendency is only to prevent the Papists from getting into a condition to extirpate our Religion, and destroy us. Is it not enough, that they have rob'd the Kingdom of the Aid of so many as they have leavened with their Doctrine, in case the King upon despairing to establish Popery by a Parliament, should employ his Janizaries to compel us to receive it, and should set upon the converting Protestants in England, in the way that the French Monarch hath converted the Huguenots; but that over and above this, they should be doing all they can, to deprive us of all the Legal Security, whereby we may be preserved from the Power of the Papists? Surely 'twere not Charity and good Nature, but stupidity and folly, not to suspect the tendency of such a design, when we find it pursued and carried on by a person that stiles himself a Quaker.

But then when besides this we find Mr. William Pen, who is the Author of those Papers, and the great Instrument in advancing this Design, we have the more cause to suspect a sinister thing at the bottom of it. For Pen is under those Obligations to His Majesty, which as they may put a bias upon his Understanding, so they afford ground enough to Protestants to look upon him no otherway's than as one Retained against them. 'Twas through his present Majesties Intercession with the late King, that he obtained the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania, and from his Bounty that he had the Propriety of three whole Counties bordering upon it superadded thereunto. And as this can not be but a strong Obligation upon so grateful person as Mr. Pen, why he should effectually serve the King, and make his will in a very great degree the measure of his actings; so it ought to be an Inducement to others to be the more jealous of all he say's, and not to surrender them-

themselves too easily either to his Magisterial Dictates upon the one hand, or to his smooth Flatteries upon the other. He must have either laid a mighty merit upon the two Royal Brothers of both whose Religion we are at last convinced, or he must have come under Obligations, of doing them very considerable service in reference to that which they were most fond of compassing; otherway's we have little cause to think, that he would have been singled out from all the rest of the Kingdom, to be made the object of so special favour and of so eminent liberality. For tho' there might be a debt owing to his Father, Sr. William Pen, yet they must be extremely weak who conceive there was no other motive to the forementioned Donation, save Honor and Justice in the two Royal Brothers for having it discharged. Seeing many of the noblest Families in England, who had spent their Blood, and wasted their Estates in fighting for the Crown, while Sr. William Pen was all along engaged against it, were not only left without all kind of Compensation, for what they had eminently acted, and as eminently suffered in behalf of the Monarchy, but could never get to be reimbursed one farthing of the vast Summs, which they had lent the late King and his Father upon the Security of the Royal Faith. Secondly, Mr. Pen hath too far detected himself in these very Discourses, not to give us ground to suspect what they are calculated for, and whereunto they are subservient. For besides his justifying the Kings turning so many Gentlemen of the Church of England out of all Office and Employ, by saying, *they are not fit to be trusted who are out of the Kings Interest*; he further tells us, that *the King being mortal, it is not good sense, that he should leave the power in those hands, that to his face shew their aversion to the Friends of his Communion.* (Letter first). For as this implies no less, than that they ought to have the whole Legal and Military Power of the three Kingdoms put into their hands, that they may be in a condition to preclude the right Heir from Succession to the Crown, or prescribe such Laws to Her as they please, in case they should think fit to admit Her; so a very small measure of Understanding, will serve to instruct us, what the Papists esteem to be an aversion to them, and in what manner, had they the power in their hands, they think themselves obliged to treat us upon that account. And as we have had occasion to know too much of his Majesties Temper and Design, as well as to whose Guidance he hath implicitly resigned himself, not to be sensible what he esteems his Interest; so we need no other evidence what it amounts unto, than the seeing so many displaced from all share in the administration, whose Quality gives them a Right, and their Abilities a fitness for the chiefest and most honorable Trusts; and whom as the King, by reason of their services to himself as well as the

Crown, can not lay aside without the highest ingratitude; so their known Loyalty to his person, and zeal for the grandure of the Monarchy is such, that nothing could take them off from concurring in his Councils, and promoting his Designs, but the conviction they are under, of their tendency to the subversion of Religion, and the altering of the Legal Government.

And as we have reason to suspect what the fore-said Papers are intended to promote, both upon the account of the Author's being Quaker, and because not only of the many Obligations he is under to His Majesty, but his being so intirely in his Interest, as appears by his influence into Councils, the great stroke he hath in all Affairs, and from his being one of the Kings principal Confidants; so upon looking into those Discourses, we find several things obtruded on us for truth, and proposed in order to wheedle and insnare us into an abrogation of the Laws enacted for our security, which to every ones knowledg are so palpably false, that we have all the ground that may be, both to question and suspect his sincerity, and to conclude that his Masters do not purpose to confine themselves within the bounds that he is pleased to chalk out for them; and which he undertakes they shall be contented with for their allotment. For what can be remoter from Truth? than that the Test Laws were designed as a Preamble to the Bill of Exclusion, (as he phrases it Letter first) and that they were contrived to exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, (as he expresses it p. 17. of his Good Advice, &c.) when it is most certain that as the Test in 73. was made long before there were, or could be any thoughts of it, and was enacted by a Parliament against whose Loyalty there can be no exception; so their was a clause in the last Test Act, by which it was provided that he should not be obliged to take it. Again what can be more repugnant to experience, than that the King only desires ease for those of his Religion; (Good Adv. p. 44.) and that the Papists desire no more than a Toleration, and are willing upon those Terms to make a perpetual peace with the Church of England, (Good Advice p. 17.) For do we not dayly see Protestants turned out of all Places of Trust, Authority and Command; and Papists advanced into all Offices Military and Civil? Could the King have been contented with a Non-execution of the Laws against those of his Communion, and could they have been satisfied with such an Indulgence, and have modestly improved it? It is not improbable that such a behaviour, would have so far prevailed upon the ingenuity and good nature of the generality of Protestants, that without needing to have been importuned, they would have repealed all the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics. But the methods which have been pursued by his Majesty and them, shews both that they aim at no less than the



the Domination, and that we must be very willing to be deceived, if we either credit Mr. Pen or suffer our selves to be influenced by him, after his obtruding upon us for truths, matters which our very senses inable us to refute. It may justly make us question his sincerity, and beget a suspicion in all thinking people, of the sinistrous design these *Papers* are adapted unto, when we find him endeavouring to cajole the Nation to an abrogation of the Laws, by which our Religion and safety are secured, by telling us that *the Kings word is enough for us to rely upon* if they were gone, (*Good Adv. p. 49.*) and that he could easily pack a Parliament for Repealing them, if he did not seek a more agreeable security to his Friends, (*Letter third p. 12.*) and that if they were abolished, 'tis below the Glory of our King, to use way's so unlike the rest of his open and generous principles, as to endeavour to get a Parliament afterwards returned, that is not duly chosen (*Letter second p. 15.*) and that he is a Prince of that Honor, Conscience, and generous nature, as not by invading the Rights of the Church of England, to become guilty of an injustice and irreligion, he hath so often, so solemnly and earnestly spoken against (*Letter second p. 11*) He must needs take us to be strangely unacquainted with the whole Tenor of the King's Actings in England as well as in Scotland and Ireland, and to be persons of very weak understandings, and of an easie belief, if he think we are to be imposed upon, and decoy'd by such Topicks as these, to abolish the *Tests*; or that after what we have seen and felt contradictory to those *Panegyrics*, and inconsistent with those beautiful and lofty Characters fastned upon his Majesty, we should believe Mr. Pen to mean nothing but well and honestly towards the Protestant Interest, in what he so earnestly soliciteth the Church of England and the Dissenters in the forementioned *Papers* to concur and consent unto.

I do acknowledg, that what he hath said about Liberty due to men in matters of meer Religion, and by way of rebuke unto, and reflection upon the Wisdom and Justice of those that either are or have been for persecution, is very strong and convincing; but I must withall add that it is all at this time very needless and impertinent. For the Church of England is so sensible of the iniquity as well as folly of that method, that there is no ground to suspect She will ever be guilty of it for the future. They whom no Arguments could heretofore convert, the Court (whose Tools they were in that mischievous and Unchristian work, and by whom they were incited to all the severities which they are now blamed for) by objecting it to them as their Reproach and disgrace, and by seeking to improve the resentments of those who had suffered by Penal Laws to become an united party with the *Papists* for their subversion, hath brought them at once to be ashamed of what

they did, and to Resolutions of promoting all Christian Liberty for the time to come. And should there be any peevish and ill natur'd Ecclesiasticks, who upon a turn of Affairs would be ready to reassume their former principles, and pursue their wonted course; we may be secure against all fear of their being successful in it, not only by finding the majority as well as the more learned both of the dignified and inferior Clergy, unchangeably fixed and determined against it, but by having the whole Nobility and Gentry, and those Noble Princes whose Right it will be next to ascend the Throne, fully possessed with all the generous and Christian purposes we can desire, of making provision for Liberty of Conscience by a Law. Nor can I forbear to subjoin how surprizing it ought to be to all Protestants, that while Mr. Pen expresseth so much charity for the *Papists*, he entertaineth so little for the Church of England. He would perswade us, that if the Penal and Test Laws were abrogated, the *Papists* would be so far afterward from seeking to shake the Constitution of the Church of England, or from breaking in upon the Liberty that is now vouchsafed unto Dissenters, or from endeavouring to make their Religion national; that they would not only be contented with a bare Toleration, but that upon their enjoyment of ease by Law, they would turn good Countrymen, and come into the Interest of the Kingdom, (*Letter first.*) Whereas at the same time he would have us believe, that all the Protestations of those in the Communion of the Church of England for exercising moderation in time to come, are but the Language of their fear; that their Promises are not to be trusted; (*Good Adv. p. 54.*) and that the Dissenters deserve to be begged for Fools, should they be satisfied with any less assurance, than the abolition of the Penal and Test Laws, (*ibid. p. 55.*) 'Tis enough not only to excite our jealousy, but to stir up severer passions, to be told at a season when we know what the Catholics are doing in France, and in most other places where they have any power, that the *Papists* through having burnt their fingers with persecution, may be grown so wise as to do so no more; and yet to have it asserted in the same Page, that they who can be prevailed upon to believe, that the Church of England is sorry for what She hath done, and that She will not be guilty of such a thing again, have little reason to quarrel at the unaccountableness of Transubstantiation. (*Good Advice p. 8.*) Nor is it becoming one who styles himself a Protestant, nor more than it is consistent with Truth, to extenuate our being scandalized at the severity upon Protestants in France, by affirming that he can parallell some of the severest passages in that Kingdom, out of the Actions of some Members of the Church of England in cool Blood, (*ibid. p. 7.*) And tho' I have all the kindness imaginable for Mr. Pen's person, and am loath to think otherway's of him as to his Religion

igious principles, than as his avowed profession discovers him; yet these and diverse passages more of that kind, together with the accession he must necessarily have had to the apprehension and imprisonment of Mr. Gray, &c. for abandoning the *Benedictine Order*; are things I can neither reconcile to the title he assumes, nor to his many Discourses for Repealing the *Test Laws*. And to speak freely considering the Nature of our Laws against *Papists*, and that it was their manifold Treasons, and only our care to preserve our selves, that both gave the first rise unto them, and has necessitated their continuance; I know neither how to construe that Assertion of Mr. Pen's (*Good Adv. p. 13.*) that the Principle which the Church of England acts by, justifies the King of France and the Inquisition; nor that other (Letter first) of there having been eight times more Laws made for ruining men for their Conscience, since the Church of England came to be the National Establishment, than were all the time that Popery was in the Chair. Nor can this be designed to any other End, but the giving the Church of Rome the commendation of Mercy and Moderation above a Protestant Church. For as 'tis certain, that the one Law of burning and extirpating Hereticks, was a thousand fold worse, and hath produced infinitely more Sanguinary effects, than all the Laws and Rigours that the Church of England can be charged with; so there is nothing can be falser, than that either her Principle, or practice, do parateil or justify the barbarous and brutal severities of the French King, and the Inquisition.

Moreover were all Protestants agreed that Liberty in meer matters of Religion should be immediately granted in a Legal way; yet I do not see how the *Papists* should pretend to any benefit by it, or be able to lay a just claim to a share in it. So that the foundation which Mr. Pen goes upon, of mens having a Right to be indulged in matters of Religion, is too narrow to support the structure he raiseth upon it. For tho' there may be somethings retained in Popery, which may be called matters of Religion; yet in the bulk and complex of it, it is a Conjuraton against all Religion, and a Conspiracy against the Peace of Societies, and the Rights of Mankind. 'Tis one of the Crimes as well as Miseries of this Age, that out of a dread of some, and in complacence to others, we have avoided representing Popery in its native colours, and calling it by the Names properly due into it. But I have always thought, that 'tis better faith in our Courtship to men, than in our duty to God, and fidelity to the Interest of Jesus Christ, and the safety of mankind. Nor do I doubt but that they will be better approved in the great day of account, who Character Persons, Doctrines, and Practices as the Scripture doth, than they, who that they may accomodate them-

selves unto; and be acceptable with the world, speak of them in a softer stile. Now if either Blasphemies against God, or Tyrannies over men; if either the defacing the Ideas of a Deity, or corrupting the Principles of vertu, and moral Honesty; if either the subverting the foundations of natural Religion, or the overthrowing the most essential Articles of the Christian Faith; if either the most avowed and bold affronts offred to heaven, or the bloodiest and most brutal outrages executed against the best of men; if all these be sufficient to preclude a party from the benefit of Liberty due to people in Religious matters. I am sure, none have reason to challenge it in behalf of the *Papists*; nor cause to complain, if it be denied them. Can there be any thing more unreasonable, than that they should claim a Toleration in a Protestant State, whose Principles not only allow, but oblige them to destroy us, as soon as their power inables them to do it? Is not the Doctrine of the Popes Supremacy, and his having a Right to Depose Kings, and absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, together with that of breaking Faith to Hereticks, and the extirpating all those who cannot believe as the Church of Rome doth, mighty inducements to those whom they have baptized with that name, and to whom they long to exercise that courtesie, for the Repealing of the Penal and Test Laws against *Papists*? Nor are these Principles falsely charged upon them, but they are the Oracular Decisions of their General Councils and Popes, whom they stile Infallible. So that Mr. Pen's Book and Letters, which seem to have been written not so much in favour of Dissenting Protestants, as of Roman Catholicks, can little advantage the latter, even allowing the Principle which he goes upon, and admitting all he hath said for mens Right to Liberty in meer matters of Religion, to be unanswerable. And his telling us (*Good Adv. p. 42.*) that Violence and Tyranny are not natural consequences of Popery, do's only discover his kindness to Rome, and the little Friendship and care he hath for the Protestant Interest. For we know both the Principles of their Religion too well, and have at all times experienced, and do at this day feel the effects of them too sensibly, to be deluded by this kind of Sophistry, and imposed upon by so palpable a Falsehood, to abandon the means of our safety. Wherefore ever any Popish Ruler Act with Gentleness and Moderation towards those whom their Church hath declared Hereticks, is either because there are Political Reasons for it, as might be easily shewed in reference to all those States and Governments which he mentions, or because there are some Princes of the Roman Communion, in whom the Dictates of Humane Nature are more prevalent than those of their Religion.

But

But should the gentle Temper of the English Nation, sway them beyond the strict obligations of duty, and make them willing to Repeal the Penal Laws against Papists; yet to do it in their present Circumstances, and at such a conjuncture as this, were the highest act of folly in the world, and a betraying both their own safety and that of their Religion. Had the Roman Catholics forbore to assume a liberty till it had been legally given them, they had been the more capable objects of such a Grace, but to bestow it upon them after they have in contempt and defiance of all our Laws taken it, were to justify their usurpation, and approve their crime. Could they have been contented with the private practice of their worship, and the non-exercising of the penalties to which our Statutes make them liable, without leaping into all offices of Trust and Command, and invading our Seats of judicature, our Churches, and our Universities; their modesty might have wrought much upon the generosity & candor of all sort of Protestants; but their audacious wresting all power into their hands, and their laying aside all those that have either any zeal for our Civil Rights or for the Protestant Religion, is enough to kindle our further indignation, in stead of influencing us to thoughts of moderation & lenity. And should we once begin to cancel our Laws, according to the measure and proportion, that they break them and usurp upon them, no man can tell where that will terminate; and they will be sure to turn it into an encouragement to further attempts. For having in compliance with their impudence, and to absolve them from the guilt of their crimes and Treasons, abrogated the Laws against popery, they will not faile in a little while to betake themselves to the same Methods, for obtaining the abolition of all the Laws for Protestantcy. 'Tis but for the King to declare, that he will have all his Subjects to be of his own Religion; and then by the Logick of the late Cant which he used in his Speech to the Council at Windsor, that they who are not for him are against him; we must immediately either turn papists, or be put in to the same list with them, & be thought worthy of the same Royal Displeasure, which they are become obnoxious unto, who can not find it to be their duty and interest to destroy the Tests. And Mr. Pen's argument of being afraid of his Majesties & the Papists Power, & yet to provoke it, (Good Adv. p. 43.) will hold in the one case as well as in the other. Nor do I see but that the court may improve an other Topick of his against us (ibid. p. 44.) viz. that we were ill Counsellors by setting him up, first to give him Roast meat, and then to hear him with the spits, by refusing to be of his Religion. To which I may add, that the brutal severities exercised towards Protestants in France and Piedmont, are but inducements to prevail upon a Reformed Nation to give liberty to Papists. 'Tis an axiom founded in the light of

Nature, as well as an Oracle of Revelation, that with what measure any do mete unto others, it shall be measured to them again; and that whatsoever any would that we should do to them, they should do so to us. Would the Papists once perswade Catholick Rulers to give indulgence to those of our Religion; it would be an argument that they acted sincerely in their pleading against Penal Laws for matters of Religion; and would mightily prove upon all of the Reformed Communion to Repeal such statutes as are Enacted against them. But while they continue and increase their persecution against us in all places where they have power; I do not see how they can reasonably expect, that we should believe them either to be just or honest, or to deserve any measure of lenity. Reprials are the only methods, whereby to bring them to peaceable and equal Terms. Had protestant Princes & States, given Papal Sovereigns to understand, that they would act upon the same square that they do, and retaliate upon those of the Romish Faith, whatsoever should be inflicted because of Religion upon those of ours; I have ground to think that the Clergy in France and Savoy, would have had more discretion, than to have been Instrumental in stirring up the late persecutions, & of instigating Rulers to such unparralleled barbarities. 'Tis not many years since a Prince in Germany began to treat protestants with an unjust severity, and to banish them his Countrey, contrary to his word, and the stipulation he had made with them; but upon the Duke of Brandenburg both threatening & beginning to do so by the Roman Catholics in his Dutchy of Cleve, the other Prince immediately forbore his rigour, and the Protestants had fair Quarter allowed them. And therefore if Mr. Pen and his Catholick friends, instead of reproaching the Church of England of justifying by her principle the King of France and the Inquisition, would prevail for abolishing the one and for putting an end to persecution by the other, they would thereby do more for inclining the Nations to tolerate papists, than either by all their invidious Satyr's against the conformable Clergy, or by their Panegyrics upon a Popish Monarch and the Romish Church. In the mean time, 'tis most unreasonable for them to demand or expect, and unwise as well as unseasonable, for British protestants to consent to the abrogation of the Tests, and the Repealing of the Penal Laws against papists. Moreover tho' 'tis possible that we might defend our selves against the dangers that might ensue upon it, had we a prince of our own Religion on the Throne, yet it would be to surrender our selves unto their power, and to expose our selves to their Discretion, should we venture to do it while a Papist of his Majesties humour hath the wielding of the Scepter. One of the main arguments, by which Mr. Pen would perswade us against all apprehension of danger from the Papists

in case the *Test* and *Penal* Laws were abolished, is the inconsiderableness of their number in comparison of Protestants, (*Good Adv.* p. 49.) And yet if there be so many ill men in the Nation, as he intimates (*Letter 3d.* p. 12) who being of no Religion, are ready upon the motives of worldly interest, to take upon them the profession of any, were it not for fear of being at one time or an other called to an account: I do not see but that as the Papists through having the King on their side, are already possessed of what he styles the *Artificial* strength of the Kingdom, why they may not in a short while, were those Laws once destroyed by which the Atheistical and profane sort of men are kept in awe, come to obtain too much of the *natural* strength of it, and raise their number to a nearer equality to that of Protestants. And tho' they should never multiply to any near proportion, yet we may easily imagine, what a few hands may be able to do, when authorized by a popish Sovereign, and seconded by a well disciplined Army commanded by Roman Catholics, could they once get to have a share in the Legislation, and to be legally stated in all places of Trust and Power. What need we had of a legal security for our Religion, in case of a papists coming to inherit the Crown, not only the late King who thorowly knew his Brothers temper and bigotry, but those Loyal Zealots who with an unhappy vigour opposed the Bill of Exclusion, were sensible of; and therefore besides all the security which we have for our Religion by the Statutes in Force, they offered many other provisions for its protection, and several of them very threatening to the Monarchy, which we might have had established into Laws, if through our pursuit of the point of Exclusion, we had not been so improvident as to despise and reject them. He that dares attempt so much as he hath done, in opposition unto and defiance of all our Laws; what will he not have the confidence to undertake, and be in a condition to accomplish, if these obstructions were out of his way. The penal Laws can not prejudice the Papists in this Kings Reign, seeing he can connive at the non-execution of them; and the Repeal of them now, can not benefit the Papists when he is gone, because if they do not be have themselves modestly, we can either reestablish them, or enact others which they will be as little fond of. But their abrogation at this time, would infallibly prejudice us, and would prove to be the pulling up of the Sluces and the throwing down the Dikes, which stem the deluge that is breaking in upon us, and which hinder the threatening waves from overflowing us. And whereas Mr. Pen would obtrude upon weak and credulous men, that if these Laws were Repealed, the King is willing to give us other for our security, and that he would only exchange the security, and not destroy it, (*Letter 2d.* p. 11.) he must pardon us, if we do not

easily believe him, after what we know of his Majesties natural Genius, and Religious Bigottry, and after what we have seen and experienced in the whole course of his Government. And if there be no other way of giving the King an opportunity of Keeping his word with the Church of England, in preserving her and maintaining our Religion, but the Repealing of the *Penal* and *Tests* Laws, as he intimates unto us (*Good Adv.* p. 50.) we have not found the Royal Faith so sacred and inviolable in other instances, as to rob our selves of a Legal defence and protection, for to depend upon the precarious one of a bare promise, which his Ghostly Fathers, whensoever they find it convenient, will tell him it was unlawful to make, and which he can have a Dispensation for the breaking of, at what time he pleaseth. Nor do we remember, that when he pledged his Faith unto us in so many promises, that the parting with our Laws was declared to be the condition upon which he made and undertook to perform them. Neither can any have the confidence to alledge it, without having recourse to the Papal doctrine of *Mental Reservation*. Which being one of the principles of that Order under whose conduct he is, makes us justly affray'd to rely upon his word without further security. However we do hereby see with what little sincerity Mr. Pen writes: and what small regard he hath to his Majesties honor, when he tells the Church of England, that if She please and like the Terms of giving up the *Penal* and *Test* Laws against Papists, that then the King will perform his word with her (*Good Adv.* p. 17) but that otherway, it is She who breaks with him, and not he with her. (*Ibid.* p. 44.)

Tho' something may be said, for the Repealing of all *Penal* Laws, in reference to every persuasion that is called Religion, how incongruously soever it may claim that Name; yet 'tis inconsistent with the safety of all Civil Government, and a plain betraying of the Civil Liberties, as well as the established Religion in great Britain, not to allow the procloding those from places of Trust, of whose fidelity we can have no assurance. And therefore as all that Mr. Pen hath alledged for abolishing the *Tests* is miserably silly; so he hath thereby too manifestly detected the small regard he bears to the safety of the Kingdoms and the Protestant cause, not to be suspected in every thing else which he hath more plausibly and reasonably asserted. For as all Governments have an unquestionable Right to use means whereby to preserve themselves; so 'tis not only lawful but expedient that they should have *Tests*, by which it may be known, who are fit to be trusted with the Legislative & Executive power. Without this, no Constitution can subsist, nor Subjects be in any security under it. Neither can any Reasons be advanced against the *Test* Laws, but what are of equal force against exacting oaths of Allegiance,

(7)
giance, and promises of Fidelity from those, whom the Government thinks meets to Employ. One might think, that Mr. Pen should allow as much to the Parliament of England, as he challengeth to himself in his Government of Pennsylvania. For I find that not only such shall be precluded from a share in the Government there, who shall either be convicted of ill Fame and unsober Conversation, or who shall not acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the world; (Chap. 2d. of their Constitutions and Laws) but that none shall be either chosen into Office, or so much as admitted to chuse, but who solemnly declare and promise fidelity to William Pen and his Heirs: (Chap. 57.) This I take not only to be equivalent unto, but something more than our Tests do amount unto. For whereas there may be several whom the Quakers may judge persons of unsober Conversation; who may be true to the Civil Interest of their Country, and willing to the utmost of their power, to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of it; we have no ground to believe the like of Papists in relation to the welfare and safety of a Protestant State. And that not only because they acknowledge a forraign Jurisdiction inconsistent with and paramount to ours; but because they are obliged by the principles of their Religion, whensoever they find themselves able, to destroy and extirpate us. I'm sure that the Motives which in 73, and 78 enforced to the Enacting of the Test Laws, do at this season plead more effectually for the continuing them. Nor had we so much cause then of being afraid of Popery, or to be apprehensive of having our Religion overturned by Papists, which were the Inducements to the making of them. And now we have ground to dread it at this time, and to be jealous of it under the present conjuncture. And the more that the Roman Catholics, and their Advocates, press to have these Laws abolished, the more fear they excite in us of their design, if they knew how to effect it, and make us the more resolved to hazard all we have to maintain them. For as no Papist is prejudiced by them in his person or property; so they are the most innocent and moderate security we can have for the preservation of our selves and of our Religion. Nor could any thing justify the Wisdom of the Nation in being without them so long, but that we were not till then suspicious of the Religion, of the Regnant Prince, nor apprehensive before of the misfortune of having a Popish successor. And whereas Mr. Pen tells us, that it were ridiculous to talk of giving Liberty of Conscience, and at the same time imagine that the Tests ought to be continued: (Good Adv. p. 59.) We may not only reply, that Liberty of Conscience has no Relation to men being admitted unto Civil Trusts, but that the same is practiced in several States and Governments both Popish and Protestant, and in Pennsylvania itself, where I suppose Liberty of Conscience is allowed. For as we find freedom

would be to men in matters of Religion both in Holland, and in diverse protestant States in Germany, without their being capable of Claiming a share in the Magistracy; so the Protestant Religion be tolerated in Collen, yet it is with a preclusion of all of that Religion from Authority. Whatsoever else Mr. Pen say's upon this head, is so despicably weak that as I neither judge it worthy to be taken notice of, nor have Room to do it; so I am confident that be his Religion what it will, which by reason of his late Papers I have more Reason to suspect than ever, he writes as much against his conscience and judgment, as against the Pattern and example which he hath sett us in Pennsylvania.

I confess the Dissenters, are under more temptations, than other Protestants, to wish for, and to endeavour the abrogation of the Penal Laws. And as this makes them to be the more particularly applied unto by the Court for the promoting of it; so it renders them the more liable to be influenced by Discourses of the nature and complexion that Mr. Pen's are of. But I hope they will consider, that the preservation of the Protestant Religion to themselves, their posterity, and the Kingdom; is more valuable than a little temporal ease, and which they only hold by the precarious tenure of the Kings word. Surely they can not be so infatuated as to think that the Papists love them, or that they will trust them any longer, than they have occasion to use them. I would think, that it should both make them blush to find themselves coupled with Roman Catholics in courts and Employments, while their fellow Protestants are shut out, and make them jealous that they are only made use of for some mischievous and finistrous purpose. They can never hope to lay such a merit upon the Court, as the Church of England hath; and her reward may forewarn them what they are to expect, when they have done the work that is allotted for them. His Majesties fidelity in giving liberty to Dissenting protestants, may be easily guessed at, by his ordering 26, poor Scots Dissenters to be sent to the Barbados for slaves; and this both since the Emitting of his first Proclamation for a Toleration, and without the having anything objected to them, but what concerned their Consciences in matters of Religion. The Terms upon which Phanaticks are to enjoy his Majesties favour and how long they are to expect the continuance of that mighty Grace, we have declared by himself, as they stand recorded in my Lord Melfort's Letter to the Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland. Namely that he intends to continue their liberty, if he have suitable encouragement and concurrence from them in their doctrine and practice, and if they concur with him in removing of the penal laws. This is the Task that they are indulged and preferred for, and 'tis a wonder they do not foresee that their destiny will be one and the same, in case they have once done it, as if they do it not. This is the Fountain of all

his Majesty's friendship to them; and the glorious af-
fection of its having been always his principle, that
Conscience ought not to be constrained, and that none ought
to be persecuted for matters of Religion. is at last
dwindled into this, that he will give them liberty so
long as they will concur and cooperate with him in his
introducing of popery, and till they have destroyed the
Laws by which our own Religion is fenced about and
defended. Certainly 'tis high time to consider, what
this is which is exacted of them, and what hazard
they not only expose the Nation and the Gospel unto, but
what guilt they derive upon themselves if they undertake
and pursue it. Nor can they promote the revealing of
the Penal Laws against Papists, and the Test Statutes, with-
out running themselves under the guilt of perjury, and
the making themselves chargeable before God, with all
the blood that was shed in the war between King Charles
the first and the Parliament. For one of the Articles
of the solemn League and covenant, was to endeavour to
extirpate popery; so the countenance and encourage-
ment which that Prince gave to Papists, was a main in-
gredient in the State of the Quarrel for which they drew
their swords against him, and in the assertion whereof
so many thousands lost their lives. Can they now be
willing to act in direct opposition to that Covenant which
rather than renounce and disclaim the obligatory force
of, many of them have suffered so much? or would
they have the guilt of all the blood lye upon them which
was shed in the former long and fatal war? I'm perswa-
ded that many, who are most forward, to pursue the
abrogation of the Tests and penal Laws against Papists,
never gave themselves leave to think what they are now
led unto. Mr. Pestels them, he will beg them forsooth,
if they do it not (Good Advice p. 44) and dare take upon
me to say, that they are more miserable knaves and
villains, if they do it, than if they should be de-
prived of all understanding, and so to perceive them-
selves merely trickt upon, and made use of for Tools
to promote a design which otherwise the wisdom and
integrity not to be instrumental in. When Jeffries who a
while ago said on the Bench, that a Fanatick, and I
will show you a knave, and that 'twas impossible to be a Fan-
atick and a knave at the same time, he was not mistaken.

tick and not to be a Rebel; should now care for them as his
Majesties best and most Loyal Subjects, and tell them upon
their being advance to Officers, that he is glad to find men
come to be employed, which was the complement he lately
bestowed upon Sr John Sborer. 'Tis likely they may be
told, that if they will fall in with the Papists for destroying
the Church of England, that they shall be secured from the
Resentments of the next Heir, by having the Monarchy
made dissolvable into a Republick upon his Majesties
death. And this would seem to be what Mr. Pen intends,
when he tells us, that such a bargain will be driven with
the Kingdom, as will make the Church of England think that
half a loaf had been better than no bread; (Good Adv. p. 43.)
and that one year will show the trick, and mightily dis-
advantage her. ~~the appearance of her being preserved long, and an~~
~~other bargain driven mightily to her disadvantage. ibid. p. 42.)~~
But as it will be impossible for Papists and Dissenters,
should they conspire together, to be able to effect it,
considering the interest which her integrity in the pro-
testant Religion, and her tenderness for the Rights and
Liberties of the Kingdoms, have justly acquired unto
her; so it were both the most foolish as well as criminal
thing, which any pretending themselves Protestants can
be guilty of, to be in any measure accessory unto it. For
as there is nothing in reference to their own Religious
liberties, and the privileges of the Nation, which
they may not undoubtedly expect, from her justice as
well as from her mercy and moderation; so there is no
means left within our view, either to give a lasting
Peace and a firm settlement to three distracted Kingdoms,
or to bring the Protestant interest into such a condition
as may balance the Papal grandure in Europe, and give
check to the rage of persecution in all places. But the
happy advancement to the Thrones of great Britain and
Ireland, ~~which shall last long, and~~
~~which time, I hope all who call themselves Pro-~~
~~testants, will submit to the worst of fate, rather than~~
~~to fall under the curse of this Age, and ignominy with~~
~~all that shall come after, for becoming an united party~~
~~with the Church of Rome, in any of her designs now~~
~~plausible soever they may appear.~~



A L E T T E R,

Containing some *Reflections*, on a *Discourse*, called *Good Advice to the Church of England*, &c. and upon *three Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London*, about the *Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests*.

S I R,

I Have at last procured a sight of the Book stiled *Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholick and Protestant Dissenter*; and of the *three Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London*; which as they are written by one and the same person, so he endeavours in all of them to make it appear to be the *Duty, Principles, and Interest* of the Parties mentioned, to *abolish the Penal Laws and Tests*. Now tho' I'm daily in expectation of seeing such an Answer returned to those Papers, as will both give the Author cause to wish he had been otherway's employ'd when he wrote them, and make the Court Faction ashamed of the Elogies they have heaped upon him for his service; yet it may not be amiss in the mean time, to shew in a very few pages, that 'tis not any considerable strength in those Discourses, which hath given them a Reputation, but the Interest of some to have every thing accounted unanswerable that is published in favour of their Designs, and the folly and weakness of others, which makes them believe that to be nervous, in whose success they imagine their case to be wrapt up and involved.

I think it is universally acknowledged, and I'm sure it can be demonstratively proved, that they are written by a *Quaker*; and this ought to render us jealous both of the motives influencing unto it, and of the end to which they are designed to be subservient. For *first*, the affinity of several of the *Religious Principles* of that Party, with some of the material *Doctrines* of the *Romish Church*, may notwithstanding the Charity which we retain towards the bulk of them, make us justly apprehensive, that one or more of their Leaders are intirely in the Interest of the *Church of Rome*. For as the Popish Emissaries know how to put themselves into all shapes, for the increasing and heightning divisions among *Protestants*, and for the exposing as well as supplanting of our Religion; so the design promoted in the foresaid Papers, of destroying all the *Legal Fences* against *Popery*, and of setting the *Papists* to the *Legislative* and whole *Executive Power* of the *Government*, gives the

do proceed. *Secondly*, It should not a little contribute to augment our Jealousie, that they who without being false to their Religious Tenets, can not join to assist *Protestants*, in case the *Papists* should attempt to cut our Throats, or endeavour to impose their Religion upon the Nation by Military force; should of all men study to overthrow that Security which we have by the *Test Laws*, whose whole tendency is only to prevent the *Papists*, from getting into a condition to extirpate our Religion, and destroy us. Is it not enough, that they have rob'd the Kingdom of the Aid of so many as they have leavened with their Doctrine, in case the King upon despairing to establish *Popery* by a *Parliament*, should employ his *Fanizaries* to compel us to receive it, and should set upon the converting *Protestants* in *England*, in the way that the *French Monarch* hath converted the *Hugenots*; but that over and above this, they should be doing all they can, to deprive us of all the Legal Security, whereby we may be preserved from the Power of the *Papists*? Surely 'twere not Charity and good Nature, but stupidity and folly, not to suspect the tendency of such a design, when we find it pursued and carried on by a person that stiles himself a *Quaker*.

But then when besides this we find that 'tis *Mr. William Pen*, who is the *Author* of those *Papers*, and the great Instrument in advancing this projection, we have the more cause to suspect some sinister thing at the bottom of it. For *first*, he is under those Obligations to His Majesty, which as they may put a bias upon his Understanding, so they afford ground enough to *Protestants* to look upon him no otherway's than as one Retained against them. 'Twas through his present Majesties Intercession with the late King, that he obtained the *Proprietorship* of *Pensylvania*, and from his Bounty that he had the *Propriety* of three whole Counties bordering upon it superadded thereunto. And as this can not be but a strong Obligation upon so grateful person as *Mr. Pen*, why he should effectually serve the King, and make his will in a very great degree the measure of his actings; so it is reasonable to suppose that he will be the same to others to be the measure of all he say's, and not to surrender them-

themselves too easily either to his Magisterial Dictates upon the one hand, or to his smooth Flatteries upon the other. He must have either laid a mighty merit upon the two Royal Brothers of both whose Religion we are at last convinced, or he must have come under Obligations, of doing them very considerable service in reference to that which they were most fond of compassing; otherway's we have little cause to think, that he would have been singled out from all the rest of the Kingdom, to be made the object of so special favour and of so eminent liberality. For tho' there might be a debt owing to his Father Sr. *William Pen*, yet they must be extremely weak who conceive there was no other motive to the forementioned Donation, save Honor and Justice in the two Royal Brothers for having it discharged. Seeing many of the noblest Families in *England*, who had spent their Blood, and wasted their Estates in fighting for the Crown, while Sr. *William Pen* was all along engaged against it, were not only left without all kind of Compensation, for what they had eminently acted, and as eminently suffered in behalf of the *Monarchy*, but could never get to be reimbursed one farthing of the vast Summs, which they had lent the late King and his Father upon the Security of the Royal Faith. Secondly, Mr. *Pen* hath too far detected himself in these very Discourses, not to give us ground to suspect what they are calculated for, and whereunto they are subservient. For besides his justifying the Kings turning so many Gentlemen of the Church of *England* out of all Office and Employ, by saying, *they are not fit to be trusted who are out of the Kings Interest*; he further tells us, that *the King being mortal, it is not good sense, that he should leave the power in those hands, that to his face shew their aversion to the Friends of his Communion.* (*Letter first*). For as this implies no less, than that they ought to have the whole Legal and Military Power of the *three Kingdoms* put into their hands, that they may be in a condition to preclude the right Heir from Succession to the Crown, or prescribe such Laws to Her as they please, in case they should think fit to admit Her; so a very small measure of Understanding, will serve to instruct us, what the *Papists* esteem to be an aversion to them, and in what manner, had they the power in their hands, they think themselves obliged to treat us upon that account. And as we have had occasion to know too much of his *Majesties* Temper and Design, as well as to whose Guidance he hath implicitly resigned himself, not to be sensible what he esteems his *Interest*; so we need no other evidence what it amounts unto to be in it, than the seeing so many displaced from all share in the administration, whose Quality gives them a Right, and their Abilities a fitness for the chiefest and most honorable Trusts; and whom as

Crown, can not lay aside without the highest ingratitude; so their known Loyalty to his person, and zeal for the grandure of the *Monarchy* is such, that nothing could take them off from concurring in his Councils, and promoting his Designs, but the conviction they are under, of their tendency to the subversion of Religion, and the altering of the Legal Government.

And as we have reason to suspect what the fore-said Papers are intended to promote, both upon the account of the *Author's* being *Quaker*, and because not only of the many Obligations he is under to His Majesty, but his being so intirely in his Interest, as appears by his influence into Councils, the great stroke he hath in all Affairs, and from his being one of the Kings principal Confidants; so upon looking into those Discourses, we find several things obtruded on us for truth, and proposed in order to wheedle and insnare us into an abrogation of the Laws enacted for our security, which to every ones knowledg are so palpably false, that we have all the ground that may be, both to question and suspect his sincerity, and to conclude that his Masters do not purpose to confine themselves within the bounds that he is pleased to chalk out for them; and which he undertakes they shall be contented with for their allotment. For what can be remoter from Truth? than that the *Test Laws* were designed as a Preamble to the Bill of Exclusion, (as he phrases it *Letter first*) and that they were contrived to exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, (as he expresseth it P. 15. of his *Good Advice*, &c.) when it is most certain that as the *Test* in 73. was made long before there were, or could be any thoughts of it, and was enacted by a Parliament against whose Loyalty there can be no exception; so there was a clause in the last *Test Act*, by which it was provided that he should not be obliged to take it. Again what can be more repugnant to experience, than that the King only desires ease for those of his Religion; (*Good Adv.* p. 44.) and that the *Papists* desire no more than a Toleration, and are willing upon those Terms to make a perpetual peace with the Church of *England*, (*Good Advice* p. 17.) For do we not dayly see Protestants turned out of all Places of Trust, Authority and Command; and *Papists* advanced into all Offices Military and Civil? Could the King have been contented with a Non-execution of the Laws against those of his Communion, and could they have been satisfied with such an Indulgence, and have modestly improved it? 'Tis not improbable but that such a behaviour, would have so far prevailed upon the ingenuity and good nature of the generality of Protestants, that without needing to have been importuned, they would have repealed all the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics. But the measure of the *Author's* Majesty and

the Domination, and that we must be very willing to be deceived, if we either credit Mr. Pen or suffer our selves to be influenced by him, after his obtruding upon us for truths, matters which our very senses inable us to refute. It may justly make us question his sincerity, and beget a suspicion in all thinking people, of the sinistrus design these *Papers* are adapted unto, when we find him endeavouring to cajole the Nation to an abrogation of the Laws, by which our Religion and safety are secured, by telling us that *the Kings word is enough for us to rely upon* if they were gone, (*Good Adv. p. 49.*) and that *he could easily pack a Parliament for Repealing them, if he did not seek a more lasting and more agreeable security to his Friends,* (*Letter third p. 12.*) and that if they were abolished, *'tis below the Glory of our King, to use way's so unlike the rest of his open and generous principles, as to endeavour to get a Parliament afterwards returned, that is not du'ly chosen* (*Letter second p. 15.*) and that *he is a Prince of that Honor, Conscience, and generous nature, as not by invading the Rights of the Church of England, to become guilty of an injustice and irreligion, he hath so often, so solemnly and earnestly spoken against* (*Letter second p. 11*) He must needs take us to be strangely unacquainted with the whole Tenor of the *King* Actings in *England* as well as in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to be persons of very weak-understandings, and of an easie belief, if he think we are to be imposed upon, and decoy'd by such Topicks as these, to abolish the *Tests*; or that after what we have seen and felt contradictory to those *Panegyricks*, and inconsistent with those beautiful and lofty Characters fastned upon his Majesty, we should believe Mr Pen to mean nothing but well and honestly towards the *Protestant* Interest, in what he so earnestly soliciteth the *Church of England* and the *Dissenters* in the forementioned *Papers* to concurr and consent unto.

I do acknow'edg, that what he hath said about Liberty due to men in matters of meer Religion, and by way of rebuke unto, and reflection upou the Wisdom and Justice of those that either are or have been for persecution, is very strong and convincing; but I must withall add that it is all at this time very needless and impertinent. For the *Church of England* is so sensible of the iniquity as well as folly of that method, that there is no ground to suspect She will ever be guilty of it for the future. They whom no Arguments could heretofore convert, the Court (whose Tools they were in that mischievous and Unchristian work, and by whom they were instigated to all the severities which they are now blamed for) by objecting it to them as their Reproach and disgrace, and by seeking to improve the resentments of those who had turn'd with the Penal Laws to become an united party for their subversion, hath brought

they did, and to Resolutions of promoting all Christian Liberty for the time to come. And should there be any peevish and ill natur'd Ecclesiasticks, who upon a turn of Affairs would be ready to reassume their former principles, and pursue their wonted course; we may be secure against all fear of their being succesful in it, not only by finding the majority as well as the more learned both of the dignified and inferior Clergy, unchangeably fixed and determined against it, but by having the whole Nobility and Gentry, and those Noble Princes whose Right it will be next to ascend the Throne, fully possessed with all the generous and Christian purposes we can desire, of making provision for Liberty of Conscience by a Law. Nor can I forebear to subjoin how surprizing it ought to be to all *Protestants*, that while Mr. Pen expresseth so much charity for the *Papists*, he entertaineth so little for the *Church of England*. He would perswade us, that if the *Penal* and *Test Laws* were abrogated, the *Papists* would be so far afterward from seeking to shake the Constitution of the *Church of England*, or from breaking in upon the Liberty that is now wouchsafed unto *Dissenters*, or from endeavouring to make their Religion national; that they would not only be contented with a bare Toleration, but that upon their enjoyment of ease by Law, they would turn good Countrymen, and come into the Interest of the Kingdom, (*Letter first.*) Whereas at the same time he would have us believe, that all the Protestations of those in the Communion of the *Church of England* for exercising moderation in time to come, are but the Language of their fear; that their Promises are not to be trusted; (*Good Adv. p. 54.*) and that the *Dissenters* deserve to be begged for Fools, should they be satisfied with any less assurance, than the abolition of the *Penal* and *Test Laws*, (*ibid. p. 55.*) 'Tis enough not only to excite our jealousy, but to stir up severer passions, to be told at a season when we know what the *Catholicks* are doing in *France*, and in most other places where they have any power; that the *Papists* through having burnt their fingers with persecution, may be grown so wise as to do so no more; and yet to have it asserted in the same Page, that they who can be prevailed upon to believe, that the *Church of England* is sorry for what She hath done, and that She will not be guilty of such a thing again, have little reason to quarrel at the unaccountableness of Transubstantiation. (*Good Advice p. 8.*) Nor is it becoming one who stiles himself a *Protestant*, no more than it is consistent with Truth, to extenuate our bring scandal'd at the severity upon *Protestants* in *France*, by affirming that he can parralell some of the severest passages in that Kingdom, out of the Actions of some Members of the *Church of England* in cool Blood, (*ibid. p. 7.*) And tho' I have all the kindness imaginable for Mr. Pen's person, and

religious principles, than as his avowed profession discovers him; yet these and diverse passages more of that kind, together with the accession he must necessarily have had to the apprehension and imprisonment of Mr. Gray, &c. for abandoning the *Benedictine Order*; are things I can neither reconcile to the title he assumes, nor to his many Discourses for Repealing the *Test Laws*. And to speak freely considering the Nature of our Laws against *Papists*, and that it was their manifold Treasons, and only our care to preserve ourselves, that both gave the first rise unto them, and has necessitated their continuance; I know neither how to construe that Assertion of Mr. Pen's (*Good Adv. p. 13.*) that the *Principle which the Church of England acts by, justifies the King of France and the Inquisition*; nor that other (*Letter first*) of there having been *eight times more Laws made for ruining men for their Conscience, since the Church of England came to be the National Establishment, than were all the time that Popery was in the Chair*. Nor can this be designed to any other End, but the giving the *Church of Rome* the commendation of Mercy and Moderation above a *Protestant Church*. For as 'tis certain, that the *one Law* of burning and extirpating Hereticks, was a thousand fold worse, and hath produced infinitely more Sanguinary effects, than all the Laws and Rigours that the *Church of England* can be charged with; so there is nothing can be falser, than that either her Principle, or practice, do parrallel or justify the barbarous and brutal severities of the *French King*, and the *Inquisition*.

Moreover were all *Protestants* agreed that Liberty in meer matters of Religion should be immediately granted in a Legal way; yet I do not see how the *Papists* should pretend to any benefit by it, or be able to lay a just claim to a share in it. So that the foundation which Mr. Pen goes upon, of mens having a Right to be indulged in matters of Religion, is too narrow to support the structure he raiseth upon it. For tho' there may be somethings retained in *Popery*, which may be called matters of Religion; yet in the bulk and complex of it, it is a Conjuraton against all Religion, and a Conspiracy against the Peace of Societies, and the Rights of Mankind. 'Tis one of the Crimes as well as Miseries of this Age, that out of a dread of some, and in complacence to others, we have avoided representing *Popery* in its native colours, and calling it by the Names properly due into it. But I have alway's thought, that 'tis better false in our Courtship to men, than in our duty to God, and fidelity to the Interest of Jesus Christ, and the safety of mankind. Nor do I doubt but that they will be better approved in the great day of account, who Character Persons, Doctrines, and Practices as the Scripture doth, than they, who that they may accomodate themselves to the times, and win the favour of the world, speak of them in a softer stile. Now if either Blasphemies against God, or Tyrannies over men; if either the defacing the *Ideas* of a Deity, or corrupting the Principles of vertu, and moral Honesty; if either the subverting the foundations of natural Religion, or the overthrowing the most essential Articles of the Christian Faith; if either the most avowed and bold affronts offered to heaven, or the bloodiest and most brutal outrages executed against the best of men; if all these be sufficient to preclude a party from the benefit of Liberty due to people in Religious matters, I am sure, none have reason to challeng it in behalf of the *Papists*, nor cause to complain, if it be denied them. Can there be any thing more unreasonable, than that they should claim a *Toleration* in a *Protestant State*, whose Principles not only allow, but oblige them to destroy us, as soon as their power enables them to do it? Is not the Doctrine of the *Popes* Supremacy, and his having a Right to *Depose Kings*, and absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, together with that of breaking Faith to Hereticks; and the extirpating all those who cannot believe as the *Church of Rome* doth; mighty inducements to those whom they have baptized with that name, and to whom they long to exercise that courtesie, for the Repealing of the *Penal and Test Laws* against *Papists*? Nor are these Principles falsely charged upon them, but they are the Oracular Decisions of their General Councils and *Popes*, whom they stile Infallible. So that Mr. Pen's Book and Letters, which seem to have been written not so much in favour of Dissenting *Protestants*, as of *Roman Catholics*, can little advantage the latter, even allowing the Principle which he goes upon, and admitting all he hath said for mens Right to Liberty in meer matters of Religion, to be unanswerable. And his telling us (*Good Adv. p. 42.*) that *Violence and Tyranny are not natural consequences of Popery*, do's only discover his kindness to *Rome*, and the little Friendship and care he hath for the *Protestant* Interest. For we know both the Principles of their Religion too well, and have at all times experienced, and do at this day feel the effects of them too sensibly, to be deluded by this kind of Sophistry, and imposed upon by so palpable a Falsehood, to abandon the means of our safety. Wheresoever any *Popish Rulers* Act with Gentleness and Moderation towards those whom their Church hath declared *Hereticks*; 'tis either because there are Political Reasons for it, as might be easily shewed in reference to all those States and Governments which he mentions, or because there are some *Princes* of the *Roman Communion*, in whom the Dictates of Humanity are more prevalent than those of *Religion*. But the

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But should the gentle Temper of the English Nation, sway them beyond the strict obligations of duty, and make them willing to Repeal the *Penal Laws* against *Papists*; yet to do it in their present Circumstances, and at such a conjuncture as this, were the highest act of folly in the world, and a betraying both their own safety and that of their Religion. Had the Roman Catholics forbore to assume a liberty till it had been legally given them; they had been the more capable objects of such a Grace; but to bestow it upon them after they have in contempt and defiance of all our Laws taken it, 'twere to justify their usurpation, and approve their crime. Could they have been contented with the private practice of their worship, and the nonexaction of the penalties to which our Statutes make them liable, without leaping into all offices of Trust and Command, and invading our Seats of judicature, our Churches, and our Universities; their modesty might have wrought much upon the generosity & candor of all sort of Protestants; but their audacious wresting all power into their hands, and their laying aside all those that have either any zeal for our Civil Rights or for the Protestant Religion, is enough to kindle our farther indignation, in stead of influencing us to thoughts of moderation & lenity. And should we once begin to cancel our Laws, according to the measure and proportion, that they break them and usurp upon them, no man can tell where that will terminate; and they will be sure to turn it into an encouragement to further attempts. For having in compliance with their impudence, and to absolve them from the guilt of their crimes and Treasons, abrogated the Laws against popery; they will not faile in a little while to betake themselves to the same Methods, for obtaining the abolition of all the Laws for Protestantcy. 'Tis but for the King to declare, that he will have all his Subjects to be of his own Religion; and then by the Logick of the late Cant which he used in his Speech to the Council at *Windsor*, that they who are not for him are against him; we must immediately either turn papists, or be put in to the same list with them, & be thought worthy of the same Royal Displeasure, which they are become obnoxious unto, who can not find it to be their duty and interest to destroy the *Tests*. And *Mr. Pen's* argument of *being afraid of his Majesties & the Papists Power, & yet to provoke it*, (Good Adv. p. 43.) will hold in the one case as well as in the other. Nor do I see but that the court may improve an other Topick of his against us (ibid. p. 44.) viz. that we were ill Courtiers by setting him up, first to give him Roast meat, and then to beat him with the Spit, by refusing to be of his Religion. To which I may add, that the brutal severities exercised towards Protestants in *France* and *Piedmont*, are but ill inducements to prevail upon a Reformed Nation to give liberty to Papists. 'Tis a Nation founded in the light of

Nature, as well as an Oracle of Revelation; that with what measure any do mete unto others, it shall be measured to them again; and that whatsoever any would that we should do to them, they should do so to us. Would the Papists once perswade Catholick Rulers to give indulgence to those of our Religion; it would be an argument that they acted sincerely in their pleading against *Penal Laws* for matters of Religion; and would mightily prove upon all of the Reformed Communion to Repeal such statutes as are Enacted against them. But while they continue and increase their persecution against us in all places where they have power; I do not see how they can reasonably expect, that we should believe them either to be just or honest, or to deserve any measure of lenity. *Reprizals* are the only methods, whereby to bring them to peaceable and equal Terms. Had protestant Princes & States, given Papal Sovereignes to understand, that they would act upon the same square that they do, and retaliate upon those of the Romish Faith, whatsoever should be inflicted because of Religion upon those of ours; I have ground to think that the Clergy in *France* and *Savoy*, would have had more discretion, than to have been Instrumental in stirring up the late persecutions, & of instigating Rulers to such unparalleld barbarities. 'Tis not many years since a Prince in Germany begun to treat protestants with an unjust severity, and to banish them his Countrey, contrary to his word, and the stipulation he had made with them; but upon the Duke of *Brandeburgs* both threatening & beginning to do so by the Roman Catholics in his Dutchy of *Cleve*, the other Prince immediately forbore his rigour, and the Protestants had fair Quarter allowed them. And therefore if *Mr. Pen* and his Catholick friends, instead of reproaching the Church of England of justifying by her principle the King of *France* and the *Inquisition*, would prevail for abolishing the one and for putting an end to persecution by the other, they would thereby do more for inclining the Nations to tolerate papists, than either by all their invidious *Satyr's* against the conformable Clergy, or by their *Panegyricks* upon a Popish Monarch and the Romish Church. In the mean time, 'tis most unreasonable for them to demand or expect, and unwise as well as unseasonable, for British protestants to consent to the abrogation of the *Tests*, and the Repealing of the *Penal Laws* against papists. Moreover tho' 'tis possible that we might defend our selves against the dangers that might ensue upon it, had we a prince of our own Religion on the Throne, yet it would be to surrender our selves unto their power, and to expose our selves to their Discretion, should we venture to do it while a Papist of his Majesties humour hath the wielding of the Scepter. One of the main arguments, by which *Mr. Pen* would perswa against all apprehension of danger from the P.

in case the *Test* and *Penal* Laws were abolished, is the inconsiderableness of their number in comparison of Protestants, (Good Adv. p. 49.) And yet if there be so many ill men in the Nation, as he intimates (*Letter 3d. p. 12*) who being of no Religion, are ready upon the motives of wordly interest, to take upon them the profession of any, were it not for fear of being at one time or an other called to an account: I do not see but that as the Papists through having the King on their side, are already possessed of what he stiles the *Artificial* strength of the Kingdom, why they may not in a short while, were those Laws once destroyed by which the Atheistical and profane sort of men are kept in aw, come to obtain too much of the *natural* strength of it, and raise their number to a nearer equality to that of Protestants. And tho' they should never multiply to any near proportion, yet we may easily imagine, what a few hands may be able to do, when authorized by a popish Sovereign, and seconded by a well disciplined Army commanded by Roman Catholics, could they once get to have a share in the Legislation, and to be legally stated in all places of Trust and Power. What need we had of a legal security for our Religion, in case of a papist coming to inherit the Crown, not only the late King who thorowly knew his Brothers temper and bigotry, but those Loyal Zealots who with an unhappy vigour opposed the Bill of Exclusion, were sensible of; and therefore besides all the security which we have for our Religion by the Statutes in Force, they offered many other provisions for its protection, and several of them very threatening to the Monarchy, which we might have had established into Laws, if through our persuite of the point of Exclusion, we had not been so improvident as to despise and reject them. He that dares attempt so much as he hath done, in opposition unto and defiance of all our Laws; what will he not have the confidence to undertake, and be in a condition to accomplish, if these obstructions were out of his way. The penal Laws can not prejudice the Papists in this Kings Reign, seeing he can connive at the non-execution of them; and the Repeal of them now, can not benefit the Papists when he is gone, because if they do not be have themselves modestly, we can either reestablish them, or enact others which they will be as little fond of. But their abrogation at this time, would infallibly prejudice us, and would prove to be the pulling up of the Sluces and the throwing down the Dikes, which stemm the deludg that is breaking in upon us, and which under the threatening waves from overflowing us. And whereas Mr. Pen would obtrude upon weak and credulous men, *that if these Laws were Repealed, the King is willing to give us other for our security, and that would only exchange the security, and not destroy it, Letter 2d p. 11.* he must pardon us, if we do not reason of their services to himself as well as to the

easily believe him, after what we know of his Majesties natural Genius, and Religious Bigottry, and after what we have seen and experienced in the whole course of his Government. And if there be no other way of giving the King an opportunity of Keeping his word with the Church of England, in preserving her and maintaining our Religion, but the Repealing of the *Penal* and *Tests* Laws, as he intimates unto us (*Good Adv. p. 50.*) we have not found the Royal Faith so sacred and inviolable in other instances, as to rob our selves of a Legal defence and protection, for to depend upon the precarious one of a bare promise, which his *Ghostly* Fathers, whensoever they find it convenient, will tell him it was unlawful to make, and which he can have a Dispensation for the breaking of, at what time he pleaseth. Nor do we remember, that when he pledged his Faith unto us in so many promises, that the parting with our Laws was declared to be the condition upon which he made and undertook to perform them. Neither can any have the confidence to alledg it, without having recourse to the Papal doctrine of *Mental Reservation*. Which being one of the principles of that Order under whose conduct he is, makes us justly affray'd to rely upon his word without further security. However we do hereby see with what little sincerity Mr. Pen writes: and what small regard he hath to his Majesties honor, when he tells the Church of England, *that if She please and like the Terms of giving up the Penal and Test Laws against Papists, that then the King will perform his word with her* (*Good Adv. p. 17*) but that otherway's, it is *She who breaks with him, and not he with her.* (*ibid. p. 44.*)

Tho something may be said, for the Repealing of all *Penal* Laws, in reference to every perswasion that is called Religion, how incongruously soever it may claim that Name; yet 'tis inconsistent with the safety of all Civil Government, and a plain betraying of the Civil Liberties, as well as the established Religion in great *Brittain*, not to allow the procloding those from places of Trust, of whose fidelity we can have no assurance. And therefore as all that Mr. Pen hath alledged for abolishing the *Tests* is miserably silly; so he hath thereby too manifestly detected the small regard he bears to the safety of the Kingdoms and the Protestant cause, not to be suspected in every thing else which he hath more plausibly and reasonably asserted. For as all Governments have an unquestionable Right to use means whereby to preserve themselves; so 'tis not only lawful but expedient that they should have *Tests*, by which it may be known, who are fit to be trusted with the Legislative & Executive power. Without this, no Constitution can subsist, nor Subjects be in any security under it. Neither can any Reasons be advanced against the Laws, but what are of equal force with the *Oaths of Alle-*

honorable trusts, and whom we know to be the most faithful and true. And that they aim at

giance, and promises of Fidelity from those, whom the Government thinks meets to Employ. One might think, that Mr. Pen should allow as much to the Parliament of England, as he challengeth to himself in his Government of *Pensilvania*. For I find that not only such shall be precluded from a share in the Government there, who shall either be convicted of ill Fame and unsober Conversation, or who shall not acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the world, (Chap. 2d. of their Constitutions and Laws) but that none shall be either chosen into Office, or so much as admitted to chuse, but who solemnly declare and promise fidelity to William Pen and his Heirs: (Chap. 57.) This I take not only to be equivalent unto, but something more than our Tests do amount unto. For whereas there may be several whom the Quakers may judge persons of unsober Conversation; who may be true to the Civil Interest of their Country, and willing to the utmost of their power, to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of it; we have no ground to believe the like of Papists in relation to the welfare and safety of a Protestant State. And that not only because they acknowledge a forraign Jurisdiction inconsistent with and paramount to ours; but because they are obliged by the principles of their Religion, whensoever they find themselves able, to destroy and extirpate us. I'm sure that the Motives which in 73, and 78 enforced to the Enacting of the Test Laws, do at this season plead more effectually for the continuing them. Nor had we so much cause then of being afraid of Popery, or to be apprehensive of having our Religion overturned by Papists, which were the Inducements to the making of those Laws, as we have ground to dread it at this time, and to be jealous of it under the present conjuncture. And the more that the Roman Catholics, and their Advocates, press to have these Laws abolished, the more fear they excite in us of their design, if they knew how to effect it, and make us the more resolved to hazard all we have to maintain them. For as no Papist is prejudiced by them in his person or property; so they are the most innocent and moderate security we can have for the preservation of our selves and of our Religion. Nor could any thing justify the Wisdom of the Nation in being without them so long, but that we were not till then suspicious of the Religion, of the Regnant Prince, nor apprehensive before of the misfortune of having a Popish successor. And whereas Mr. Pen tells us, that it were ridiculous to talk of giving liberty of Conscience, and at the same time imagine that the Tests ought to be continued: (Good Adv. p. 59.) We may not only reply, that Liberty of Conscience has no Relation to mens being admitted unto Civil Trusts, but that the same is practiced in several states and Governments both Popish and Protestant, and in *Pensilvania*. Science is allowed, where I suppose Liberty of Conscience is allowed, and freedom

would save to men in matters of Religion both in *Holland*, and in diverse protestant States in Germany, without their being capable of Claiming a share in the Magistracy; so tho' the Protestant Religion be tolerated in *Collen*, yet it is with a preclusion of all of that Religion from Authority. Whatsoever else Mr. Pen say's upon this head, is so despicably weak that as I neither judge it worthy to be taken notice of, nor have Room to do it; so I am confident that be his Religion what it will, which by reason of his late Papers I have more Reason to suspect than ever, he writes as much against his conscience and judgment, as against the Pattern and example which he hath sett us in *Pensilvania*.

I confess the Dissenters, are under more temptations, than other Protestants, to wish for, and to endeavour the abrogation of the Penal Laws. And as this makes them to be the more particularly applied unto by the Court for the promoting of it; so it renders them the more liable to be influenced by Discourses of the nature and complexion that Mr. Pen's are of. But I hope they will consider, that the preservation of the Protestant Religion to themselves, their posterity, and the Kingdom; is more valuable than a little temporal ease, and which they only hold by the precarious tenure of the Kings word. Surely they can not be so infatuated as to think that the Papists love them, or that they will trust them any longer, than they have occasion to use them. I would think, that it should both make them blush to find themselves cupled with Roman Catholics in courts and Employments, while their fellow Protestants are shut out, and make them jealous that they are only made use of for some mischievous and sinistrous end. They can never hope to lay such a merit upon the Court, as the Church of England hath done; and her reward may forewarn them what they are to expect, when they have done the job that is allotted for them. His Majesties sincerity in giving liberty to Dissenting protestants, may be easily guessed at, by his ordering 26, poor Scots Dissenters to be sent to the *Barbados* for slaves; and this both since the Emitting of his first Proclamation for a Toleration, and without the having any thing objected to them, but what concerned their Consciences in matters of Religion. The Terms upon which Phanatics are to enjoy his Majesties favour and how long they are to expect the continuance of that mighty Grace, we have declared by himself, as they stand recorded in my Lord Melfort's Letter to the Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland. Namely that he intends to continue their liberty, if he have suitable encouragement and concurrence from them in their Doctrine and practice, and if they concur with him in removing of the penal laws. This is the Task that they are indulged and preferred for, and 'tis a wonder they do not foresee that their destiny will be one and the same, in case they have once done it, as if they do it not. This is the Fountain of all

his Majesties friendship to them; and the glorious assertion of its having been alway's his principle that Conscience ought not to be constrained, and that none ought to be persecuted for meer matters of Religion, is at last dwindled into this, that he will give them liberty so long as they will concur and cooperate with him in his introducing of popery, and till they have destroyed the Laws by which our own Religion is fenced about and defended. Certainly 'tis high time to consider, what this is which is exacted of them, and what hazard they not only expose the Nation and the Gospel unto, but what guilt they derive upon themselves if they undertake and pursue it. Nor can they promote the repealing of the Penal Laws against Papists, and the Test Statutes; without running themselves under the guilt of perjury, and the making themselves chargeable before God, with all the blood that was shed in the war between King Charles the first and the Parliament. For an one of the Articles of the solemn League and covenant, was to endeavour to extirpate popery; so the countenance and encouragement which that Prince gave to Papists, was a main ingredient in the State of the Quarrel for which they drew their swords against him, and in the assertion whereof so many thousands lost their lives. Can they now be willing to act in direct opposition to that Covenant which rather than renounce and disclaim the obligatory force of, many of them have suffered so much? or would they have the guilt of all the blood lye upon them which was shed in the former long and fatal war? I'm perswaded that many, who are most forward, to pursue the abrogation of the Tests and penal Laws against Papists, never gave themselves leave to think what they are hurried unto. Mr. Pen tells them, he will begg them for fools, if they do it not (Good Adv. p. 54.) and I dare take upon me to say, that they are most execrable knaves and villaines, if they do it. Is it possible they should be so deprived of all understanding, as not to perceive themselves meerly trick't upon, and made use of for Tools to promote a design which others have the wisdom and integrity not to be Instrumental in; when Jeffries who a while ago said on the Bench, shew me a Fanatick, and I will shew you a knave, and that 'twas impossible to be a Fana-

tick and not to be a Rebel; should now care for them as his Majesties best and most Loyal Subjects, and tell them upon their being advance to Offices, that he is glade to find honest men come to be employed, which was the complement he lately bestowed upon Sr John Shorter. 'Tis likely they may be told, that if they will fall in with the Papists for destroying the Church of England, that they shall be secured from the Resentments of the next Heir, by having the Monarchy made dissolvable into a Republick upon his Majesties death. And this would seem to be what Mr. Pen intends, when he tells us, that such a Bargain will be driven with the Kingdom, as will make the Church of England think that half a loaf had been better than no bread; (good Adv. p. 43.) and that one year will show the trick, and mightily deceive her, and the opportunity of her being preserved lost, and an other bargain driven mightily to her disadvantage. *ibid.* p. 42.) But as it will be impossible for Papists and Dissenters, should they conspire together, to be able to effect it, considering the interest which her integrity in the protestant Religion, and her tenderness for the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdoms, have justly acquired unto her; so it were both the most foolish as well as criminal thing, which any pretending themselves Protestants can be guilty of, to be in any measure accessory unto it. For as there is nothing in reference to their own Religious liberties, and the privileges of the Nation, which they may not undoubtedly expect, from her justice as well as from her mercy and moderation; so there is no means left within our view, either to give a lasting Peace and a firm settlement to three distracted Kingdoms, or to bring the Protestant interest into such a condition as may ballance the Papal grandure in Europe, and give check to the rage of persecution in all places, but her happy advancement to the Thrones of great Brittain and Ireland, when it shall please God to remove his Majesty. Untill which time, I hope all who call themselves Protestants, will submit to the worst of fate, rather than to fall under the curse of this Age, and ignominy with all that shall come after, for becoming an united party with the Church of Rome, in any of her designs how plausible soever they may appear.